



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

“Ihre Ansicht vom Wesen der Komödie muss sie sich nach einem Theoretiker gebildet haben, welcher, wie Isidor, die unzünftigen Liebeshändel als zum Wesen der Gattung gehörig betrachtete. . . . Hin und wieder zeigt sie sich bestrebt, sich im sprachlichen Ausdruck an Terenz anzuschliessen, doch weist sie jeden Vergleich ihres Stils mit dem Terenzischen bescheiden zurück. Das charakteristische Merkmal des dramatischen Stils, den sie dem heroischen Versmass ihrer früheren Dichtungen entgegengesetzt, besteht für sie offenbar in dem Wechsel von Rede und Gegenrede, ohne jede Beimischung erzählender Bestandteile; wenn sie die Prosaform wählte, so glaubte sie ohne Zweifel auch darin dem Beispiel des Terenz zu folgen. Dass die Komödien des Terenz für die Aufführung herging, davon wusste sie natürlich nichts, sie hat deshalb auch die Grenzen unbeachtet gelassen, die sich ihr Vorgänger in Bezug auf Ort und Zeit auferlegte; wenn sie über Länderstrecken und Zeiträume hinwegsetzt in einer Weise, welche die Verkörperung ihrer Stücke auf einer Bühne nach antiker Art unmöglich machen würde, so empfand sie das gewiss nicht als eine Abweichung von den Regeln der Terenzischen Komödie.

Man sieht also, dass Hrotsvitha in ihrer Auffassung des Terenz und des antiken Lustspiels völlig auf dem Boden ihrer Zeit steht, dass sie sich aber auch vollkommen bewusst ist, durch ihren Versuch einer Nachahmung aus den Traditionen der Gelehrten poesie herauszutreten. Und ohne Zweifel war ihr Entschluss durch eine natürliche dramatische Begabung mit veranlasst. Besser, als die Dramatiker des späteren Mittelalters versteht sie es, aus der überlieferten Begebenheit die Hauptmomente herauszugreifen. Ihr Dialog ist oft überraschend lebendig und schlagfertig, mit grossem Geschick bringt sie es zuwege, dass die vorwärtsschreitende Handlung in dem Dialog restlos aufgeht. Auch ein natürliches Talent zur Menschendarstellung dürfen wir voraussetzen, obgleich ihr zur Ausbildung dieses Talents alle Bedingungen fehlten.”¹⁷

The foregoing quotations from German scholars show that the “accepted” German opinion is essentially the same as that of Mr. Roberts. An examination of some of the leading recent English writers on dramatic history, will show that they agree substantially with German critics about Hrotsvitha’s dramas.

Ward says,¹⁸

“It was the good fortune of Terence to lead a charmed life in the darkest ages of learning,

¹⁷ Cf. Ebert’s opinion, *Allg. Geschichte der Litteratur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, vol. III, p. 314 ff.

¹⁸ *English Dramatic Literature*. New and Revised edition. London, 1899. Vol. I, p. 7.

through the course of which his works survived under the safe guardianship of monastic libraries. Hrotsvitha, however, borrowed from Terence merely the general form of his plays, without adopting even his metre; while she both distinctly and of avowed purpose reversed the tendency of his plots. Deficient neither in literary ability nor in occasional pathetic power . . . she displays an intensive knowledge of dramatic effect which is under the circumstances singularly remarkable. . . . As a matter of fact they (i. e. the plays) were doubtless read aloud or recited by the nuns of her convent . . . without any anticipatory design of educational Terentian or quasi-Terentian performances.”

Concerning Hrotsvitha’s plays, Pollard remarks:¹⁹

“Her six plays are planned in some measure on the comedies of Terence. Not that, like the author of the *χριστός πάροχον* with the Greek dramatists, she incorporated his verses into her own work, or made any attempt to imitate his metres; but that Terence . . . appeared to the good nun undeservedly and dangerously popular, and she wished to show what much better comedies might be written to inculcate strict moral and religious teaching.”

WM. H. HULME.

Western Reserve University.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF KÖNIG ROTHER.

In 1848, Haupt (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, VII, p. 262) first advanced the idea that the poem of *König Rother* was written in Bavaria by a man from the Rhine country. This seems the most plausible theory, and is concurred in by Karl von Bahder in the latest careful and critical study of the poem (“Zum König Rother,” *Germania*, XXIX (1884), pp. 229–243; 257–300), as follows: “It is to be concluded then that the poet in general wrote in the Middle Franconian dialect, in some cases, however, deviated from the peculiarities of his dialect and approached the Upper German. Haupt’s assertion that the poem was written in Bavaria by a Middle Franconian finds thus confirmation in the language of the poem.” Edward Schröder in 1891 in an article, “Heimat u. Überlieferung der Vorauer Sündenklage” (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XXXV, p. 419, note), also

¹⁹ *English Miracle Plays*. Oxford, 1890. Introduction, p. xii.

agrees with this view, and Johann Kelle (*Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur von der ältesten Zeit bis zum 13^{ten} Jahrh.* Berlin, 1896, Vol. II, p. 221) says: "Die drei Handschriften . . . unterscheiden sich wohl nicht unwesentlich von der Heidelberger Überlieferung, gehen aber mit ihr auf einen Text zurück, der in der zweiten Hälfte des 12^{ten} Jahrhunderts von einem rheinischen Spielmann in Baiern gestaltet worden ist. Er dichtete zur Verherrlichung bairischer Geschlechter, u. s. w." Anton Edzardi, however, in his extended discussion of the *Rother* ("Untersuchungen über König Rother," *Germania*, XVIII (1873), pp. 385-453), advocated the theory of a Middle Franconian authorship, ascribing all the Upper German elements to the work of a Bavarian interpolator. I quite agree with Edzardi (p. 436) that "the short allusions to Bavarian mythical or historical events could proceed only from a section of the country where they were understood, i. e., from Bavaria itself. Further, the honoring of the Tengelings and of the Bavarian race generally could nowhere else have come into the poem." But, that all this was the work of an interpolator is clearly untenable. If the Bavarian references are all interpolations then a very large part of the poem must be considered as such. And if written in Bavarian, such passages interpolated in a dialect widely different from the original would have retained, without doubt, peculiar dialectic characteristics. Yet no distinctively Bavarian or Middle Franconian parts are distinguishable from the language standpoint. If the interpolations proceed, as Edzardi suggests, from a Middle or Low German in Bavaria, why not ascribe to him the authorship of the whole?

Edzardi based his conclusions partly upon the much-discussed references to *daz bôch*, *daz liet*, etc., considering that the interpolator used these terms to refer to his work, while Rückert (Edition of 1872, *Einleitung*, p. lxiii) supposed them to refer to a *Vorlage*. Von Bahder says: (*Germania*, XXIX, p. 279) "There is no reason to suppose that *daz bôch* in our poem does not have the same significance it usually had, namely, *Quelle*." And these sources contained simply the story of Rother's wooing (cf. ll. 3476 ff. of the poem).¹ This was

the narrative heard by the Middle Franconian Spielmann and later written down by him in Bavaria. In this connection it is interesting to note the discussion of the words *buoch*, *liet*, etc., by Dr. Paul Piper in *Die Spielmannsdichtung* (Part I, p. 62, Kürschner's D. N.-L., Berlin and Stuttgart, 1887), who says: "Ein *buoch* oder *liet* war seine Quelle, ein *buoch* oder *liet* nannte er sein eigenes Gedicht," and cites the use of these words as a characteristic mark of the Spielmann poetry. The word *richtère* or *tichtère*, which occurs in l. 4859 of the Heidelberg manuscript and in the line preceding the last of the Arnswald fragment (l. 5200 of the poem), was printed by F. H. von der Hagen (*Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1808) as *tichtère*, with no note or variant for it. Evidently Tieck, from whom he had his copy, had so read the manuscript which was then in the Vatican. H. F. Massmann in *Deutsche Gedichte des 12^{ten} Jahrhunderts* (Quedlinburg u. Leipzig, 1837), being the second edition of the poem, prints *richtère*, but says in his notes: "statt *tichtère*" (p. 228) and "*tichtère* wohl" (p. 234). Rückert in the edition of 1874, says that the MS. reads *r*, but he substitutes a *t* as a more likely meaning. Edzardi and von Bahder would retain the *r*; Edzardi, however, making his hypothetical Bavarian *Bearbeiter* use the word *richtère* to refer to himself, who is therefore the "rectifier" or "finisher" of the poem. Von Bahder reads *richtère*, but says it means simply *Dichter*, as the word was often used interchangeably with *tichtère*, and that "he who used the expression points thereby to the story as it lay before him, and that this may have been a re-written work is indeed not inconceivable." The reading *tichtère* is, in my opinion, to be preferred, since the *r* for *t* in the MS. may easily have been an error of some scribe, which would then have been retained by subsequent copyists, or *t* may really have been intended and the confusion arisen from the similarity in form of the two letters. This seems to be borne out by the fact that Tieck read *t* without question, or von der Hagen would have noted it. The word was doubtless used by the Middle Franconian writer just as *bôch* and *liet* to refer to the story he had brought with him from his home-land, probably *not* in a written form at all, but merely as a tale he had heard and which he now wrote down in Bavaria. It could then be

¹ The line references are to Von Bahder's text, *Alt-deutsche Textbibliothek*, Nr. 6, Halle, 1884.

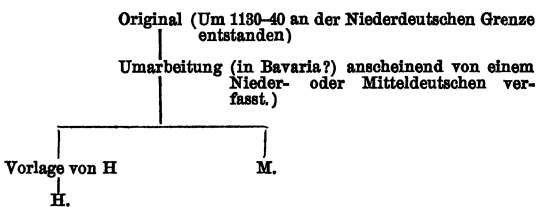
better translated as "narrator" or "story-teller" than as "poet." Inserting this meaning and translating ll. 4859-60, they would read :

"Here the narrator continues,
To tell us of the story," etc.

which sounds quite reasonable. That the author used the word in ll. 5200 ff. to indicate himself, and called upon all to ask God's blessing upon him, is plausible, but this meaning will obviously not suit at all in the passage quoted above (ll. 4859-60).

The Lower Franconian and Rhine Franconian characteristics found in the language of the poem are carefully treated by von Bahder, who sums up the whole matter as follows: (*Germania*, xxix, p. 275) "We reach, then, the conclusion that the poem from Bavaria reached the Rhine and was next of all copied in Lower Franconia or on the Middle Franconian border, and then in its new form, altered in some respects, has served a Rhine Franconian copyist as an original. That this copyist is the author of the H. MS. is the most natural assumption."

It remains to determine in which copy the interpolated parts came in, and what is their nature and origin. It is certain that Edzardi attributed altogether too much to the interpolator, and in consequence has drawn many erroneous conclusions. In a second article ("Zur Textkritik des Rother," *Germania*, xx, p. 415) he diagrams his theory of the history of the poem thus :



And he adds: "Ob die Bearbeitungen A und B [Baden frag.] auf H, auf dessen Vorlage oder direct auf die erste Umarbeitung zurückgehen, ist schwer zu entscheiden." Edzardi and von Bahder agree that the interpolator was not a Spielmann. Piper says: (*Die Spielmannsdichtung*, i, p. 87) "Ich möchte weder so subtil, wie Edzardi, den Kern des Gedichtes zwar einem Spielmann, die Zuthat aber einem Gebildeten zuschreiben, noch auch mit Rückert für das Ganze an einen Geistlichen als Verfasser denken; vielmehr ist es das Werk eines echten, rechten Spielmannes, freilich

eines an Bildung höher stehenden. Der stolze *spileman*, der formelhafte Gebrauch bestimmter Zahlen, die Verwendung volkstümlicher Worte, Wendungen . . . weisen ihn mit Bestimmtheit der Klasse der Spielleute zu." All this is true enough, nevertheless there is much in the poem that is inconsistent with the usual Spielmann's learning. For instance, the biblical references and theological discussions, the mention of St. Julian and John the Baptist (ll. 4075-6); also ll. 4401-03:

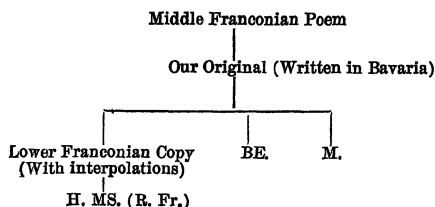
"Unde die vile gôde
Constantinis môder
Helena, die daz crûce vant," etc.,

the mention of Adam's fall, and of St. Michael, etc., are foreign to the Spielmann poetry. But again, von Bahder, too, I think, ascribes entirely too much to interpolation. As an example, he considers (v. note to p. 136, Ed. of 1884) the entire discussion between the Giants concerning the destruction of Constantinople (ll. 4384-4457) as an interpolation, yet in the same note he refers to a similar passage in the *Wolfdietrich*. The story recalls the council of the princes of the first crusade in which Boemund advises the plundering of the city, but the reminder of the pious Duke Godfrey "that it was not fitting for pilgrims to fight against Christians," was heeded. (v. Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. Leipzig, 1813; i, p. 117; ii, *Beilage Nr. 5*.) The most plausible conclusion in regard to this so-called interpolation is, in my opinion, that the Spielmann-author, knowing the episode which occurs in the *Wolfdietrich*, confused it with the events of the first crusade, and then the "geistliche" interpolator saw an opportunity to bring in characters of the Bible and early church history, and enlarged upon the story, inserting lines here and there. At any rate I see no reason for considering the whole passage an interpolation, for the conception of the episode itself is in no wise inconsistent with the minstrel-poem.

It is impossible to discuss here the various so-called interpolations in detail. As in the above passage, I should, in general, consider only the really ecclesiastical and biblical references as interpolations, and the interpolator as a priestly copyist, who did not wish to finish his copy without preaching a sermon or two, consequently more and more towards the end of the poem has introduced such passages without a great regard for the original

story. This would explain the fact noted by Edzardi that from l. 4000 the poem becomes more confused, while previous to that the story is simply and consistently told.

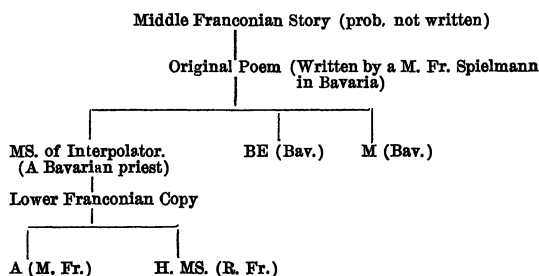
Did this interpolator live in Bavaria? Von Bahder thinks not and regards the interpolations as the work of the Lower Franconian copyist. His conclusions with reference to the poem may be placed in a diagram somewhat as follows:



As evidence he mentions that in a single line (1540) *sagen* stands in the rhyme with *neme*. This seems very slight evidence, and, moreover, I do not regard the passage in which this occurs as an interpolation at all. The single line (1540) may have been inserted or changed by the Lower Franconian scribe. It may be noted that this line is lacking in the Ermlitzer fragment [E] which is Bavarian. At any rate the interpolations—restricting them now to the purely religious passages—show equally as much of the Upper German element as does the rest of the poem. And in these interpolations, so far as I have been able to determine them, not one pure Low German form stands in the rhyme. According to von Bahder's scheme as outlined above, there would be no probable way to account for the Bavarian element in the interpolations. I prefer, therefore, to suppose another intermediate copy, and to conclude that the interpolations were made in Bavaria. They having been made, then, in the same region in which the poem was written, and having gone through the same process of copying and re-copying, the similar mixture of dialects would be clear enough. Then, too, these interpolations being short and not such a preponderant part as Edzardi and von Bahder have supposed, though probably at first more Bavarian than the remainder, would have been toned down by the Lower and Rhine Franconian copyists. This would have been especially the case as the latter would see in the original Middle Franconian a dialect very near his own, and he may even have had his home somewhere on the

Middle Franconian border. That the BE and M fragments show little trace of interpolation proves nothing for, though they are characteristically Bavarian, there is no reason why they may not be traced to the original poem *before* the interpolations were made. So far as the fragment goes this is true of BE, and perhaps of M also, though the reference to St. John and St. Julian (ll. 4076–7) occurs in M as well as in H, the name of the latter being, however, illegible in M. The Arnswald fragment [A] must be considered as proceeding *not* from the H. MS. but perhaps from the same *Vorlage*. It has a similar mixture of dialects, but curiously enough this is not shown in the same words. To illustrate: l. 5140,—H. has *rade*, A. *rate*; l. 5147—H. *aber*, A. *aver*; H. *zô*, A. *to*; l. 5167—H. *bat*, A. *baz*; l. 5168—H. *overgenoz*, A. *obergenoz*; l. 5473—H. *munichin*, A. *moneken*; l. 5177—H. *dat . . . date*, A. *iz . . . tete*; l. 5178—H. *der*, A. *de*, etc.

According to the theory of interpolations outlined above I would suggest the following as the probable history of the poem and its manuscripts:



CHARLES A. TURRELL.

Columbia University.

THE OLD FRENCH ADVERB *tote jor*.¹

1. ORIGIN OF THE FEMININE FORM *tote* IN *tote jor*.

The use of the feminine adjective in this adverb

¹ *Tote jor* is the Old French equivalent of Modern French *toute la journée* (Cf. *La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne*. Ed. by J. Couraye du Parc. Paris, 1884, l. 2068: *Ier tote jor a ax me combati*). According to the statement of W. Zeitlin and Diez, *tote jor* was also used in the sense of 'always' (Cf. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, vii, 15; *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, fünfte Auflage. Bonn, 1882, ii, 472–474).